Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i

Hawaiian Traditions

Davida Malo

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CHAPTER 1

1. Many of Hawai'i(s) ancient traditions are not very explicit or [for that matter] very clear. Perhaps some of these traditions are a bit clearer than others [when they] dealt with the material culture made in the old days, or even of the traditions the people of old had heard of, but most of what has been transmitted down today is still ambiguous and not easily understood.

2. The primary reason their [the people of old] ancient traditions are so ambiguous and unclear is that they were illiterate. They could not read or write, which could have been the means to accurately record their common traditions: the things they had heard of from their elders, such as the places they were born, although we do know of where they had lived. We are now finding out, when we try to understand these ancient accounts, that these traditions had been retained without very adequate explanations.

3. There is no existing documentation that tells of where the people of old had [previously?] lived and how they migrated here. Nor are we told the reasons why they conferred together, the reasons that lead them here, of the canoes they sailed in, of what lands they had left to come here, and [who were] their gods. We are not even told of the names of their god images (nā akua ki'i) which could reveal the places where these people of old [came from].

4. The people of old only retained the ancient traditions through memory. Memory was the “form” by which they could retain all the ancient traditions they had heard of.

5. Therefore, this [reason] maybe why the accuracy of all traditional materials is so ambiguous and baffling. Maybe some of what had been heard is actually accurate and some a little more accurate [than others], but most of what has been retained is not very accurate not all. Again, what has been retained could be partially accurate, but maybe not all of it.

6. The memorization of these accounts is the reason for their inaccuracy and controversy, because we now know that oral transmission can be very misleading.

7. Memorization is what has caused great disagreements concerning oral transmission. Some people memorized things thinking that what they have heard was accurate, whereas others think what they have heard is more accurate [than what the other had heard], while perhaps others have actually
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been lying; so for these reasons oral transmission has become so contentious and unreliable.¹

8. Therefore, this is perhaps why there has been so much disagreement concerning [traditional] genealogies. The beginning of a genealogy can be different from the beginning of another. Some people think that their genealogy is accurate and others think that theirs is more accurate, and so this is the same case as the disagreements over traditional stories. What one has retained can then be as different as another's to the point that the accuracy of what actually had been heard is not the same any more.²

9. The worship (ka ho'omana 'ana) of images (nā akua ki'i) [and or] the god (ke akua) of some [people] was different [from others]. Worship could be different because the restrictions or prohibitions (kapu) of some gods were different [from others], as were the differences of the god[s] (ke akua) of others. Therefore, there is a lot of disagreement in the oral traditions because everyone did as he or she pleased (ua hana keia mea o kona mana'o iho) and the authenticity of traditional materials then became doubtful.

10. The beginnings of genealogies vary. The beginning of one can be different from another, and their ascent ["the upper parts"] can be immense. The Kumulipo is the genealogical beginning to some people, while the Palikū belongs to others, Lolo ['Ololo] to others, Puanue to others, and Kapohihi to others. [They are] not like Adam's genealogy which only [consists of] one [line of ascent] and does not branch out.³

11. There are three genealogies considered to be of importance: The Kumulipo, Palikū, and Lolo. These genealogies are the ones by which the Hawaiian

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¹ This discussion on oral and written transmission has been frequently interpreted to be an indication of how influential Malo’s missionary education had been. However, there are two points to be considered before making such an impressionable judgment: 1) if Malo considered oral transmission to be so inaccurate why does he proceed to detail out his manuscript in the manner that is consistent to genealogies? And 2) if one reads his text carefully one would note that Malo is more concerned about the accuracy of the process between oral and written transmission than between the format of genealogies than to chronological history. If Malo rejects genealogies as history then why did he not write chronological history as Dibble and Pogue did? I believe the answer is to be found in how the influence and novelty of writing and printing had upon an oral society, particularly in this case, upon a mo'oku'auhau, [a "genealogist"] a person deeply involved in the maintenance and protection of ancient traditions

² By Malo’s own admission to the Rev. Dwight Baldwin we know that Malo considered himself to an expert in genealogies. He said that during his life he served “to treasure up the mō'elo” and the genealogies of chiefs. (Second Supplement, 1847) He had been trained by the chief (Noa) ‘Auwae who was the court genealogist for the High Chief Kuakini, prior to the arrival of the missionaries, and as early as 1827 Malo had already compiled a collection of Hawaiian genealogies (Kumulipo, Palikū, Lolo and Puanue). In this regard Malo would be well qualified to comment about the state and usage of genealogies at that time.

³ The observation of a difference between traditional Hawaiian genealogies and the Biblical genealogy of Adam is one indication that Hawaiians were not syncretic, but cognizant of similar forms of traditions.
people and the chiefs may be related with the Tahitians, and may be the people of Nu'uniwa, because these genealogies are exactly like their.

CHAPTER 2

CONCERNING THE FORMATION
OF THE ISLANDS

1. It is truly amazing to consider what one hears in the words of the people of old concerning the formation of the Hawaiian Islands. Their ideas are so contradictory.

2. It is from their genealogies that we can see the differences, of one from another.

3. In the genealogy called Puanue, it is said that [the islands] were actually formed from the corners of the earth and the sky.

4. Kumukumukeka'a gave birth to Paialani, her mate, [but] it is said in another genealogy that Kamai'eli gave birth to KamoleokahonuaoKumuhonua, her mate.

5. In the genealogy of Wäkea, it is said that Papa gave birth to these islands. Some have heard that these islands were not born; they were actually created by Wäkea’s hands.

6. We know that this is a mistake for if the women in ancient times had given birth to islands, then the birth of islands, today, would still be going on [by them]. If Wäkea had created the islands [by his hands], then islands would still be created in the same [way] today.

7. Furthermore, in the genealogy called Kumulipo, it is said that the islands just rose up [from the ocean]. They were not born nor where they created.

8. This argument, that the islands just rose up, may be the right idea and perhaps then [they] were later populated. Therefore, [we can see] the mistake of the people of old, although the rising of all islands [from the ocean] may not be so.

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It has been supposed by the translator as well as other writers that Davida Malo’s familiarity with the traditions of other Pacific Islands, particularly the Tahitians was due to the presence of Tahitians in the chiefly courts of the ruling Hawaiian chiefs prior to the arrival of the missionaries.

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Because, today there are scientists who are still seeking the reason for the formation of the Hawaiian Islands. Their ideas could possibly be right, and then they may be not, for [their] ideas only come from the heart [mind].

Some scientists from foreign places have researched [this subject] and they think that there were no islands here in the past. There was only water [ocean]. They think the islands appeared from the ocean. Volcanic activity is the reason [given] for the appearance [of the islands].

They say that several islands have been observed to have appeared [from volcanic activity]. The characteristics of these islands are the same as the Hawaiian Islands. They are volcanic with lava flows and the rocks are not the same as [found on] the continents, so they believe.

These stones [in Hawai‘i] are volcanic [in origin]. Today, most of the volcanoes are extinct, but in the past, there was volcanic activity on Maui and on all islands. Therefore, it is thought, that these islands appeared from beneath the sea. This kind of reasoning [“thinking”] may not be all that accurate, because [after all,] it is only from the heart [mind].

Perhaps there were islands here at the beginning of time, maybe not at all; however, the people of old were free to talk of all sorts of nonsense and to let their words go on in a round about way.

CHAPTER 3
THE ORIGINS OF THE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE

It is said in Hawai‘i’s ancestral genealogies that the first people in the Hawaiian Islands were the ancestors of all the Hawaiian people.

The genealogy called Kumulipo says that the very first person was a woman. Her name was La‘i‘a‘i. It is said in this genealogy that her ancestors were po (the darkness) and that people came from there.

Keali‘i‘wahilani is the name of La‘i‘a‘i’s mate. However, it is not stated what were the names of Keali‘i‘wahilani’s parents. It is said that Keali‘i‘wahilani came from the heavens, from where he saw the beautiful woman, La‘i‘a‘i living at Lalowaiia. Keali‘i‘wahilani descended down and slept with La‘i‘a‘i. They gave birth to children who were the ancestors of this race.

After La‘i‘a‘i and others, it was again stated in the genealogy called Lolo that the very first person was a male. Kahiko was his name. It was said that the nature or being of his ancestors was not known. It is known that Kahiko was a human.
5. Kupulanakehau is the name of Kahiko’s mate. They gave birth to Līhau’ula and Wākea. Wākea’s mate was Haumea, and Papa is another of her names. It is said that this Haumea is the mate of Wākea in the genealogy called Palikū. Her ancestors, it is understood, when created, were the pali (cliffs).

6. These were the people who are mentioned in Hawaiʻi’s ancestral genealogies, therefore, they are the ancestors of all the Hawaiian people. However, it is not told whether or not the Hawaiian Islands were [the place] where they were born. These people could have been born elsewhere and maybe their genealogies were the ones preserved here in the Hawaiian Islands.

7. Because, it was said that people [such as] La’ila’i and Keali‘iwāhilani lived at Lalowaia, Kahiko and Kupulanakehau lived at Kamawaehualani, and Wākea and Papa lived at Loloimehano, and there are no sites in the Hawaiian Islands with these names.

8. Furthermore, it is said in the genealogies that when Wākea separated from Papa, she went to live in Nu‘umehalanani. There is no place in the Hawaiian Islands called Nu‘umehalanani. These names may be found on other islands.

CHAPTER 4

CONCERNING THE GENERATIONS
FROM WĀKEA

1. From Wākea until Haumea’s death, there had been six generations of people. It was said that ‘Ololoimehano was where these people lived. It was not stated where else they had lived and furthermore, their journey and settling in the Hawaiian Islands was not told of.

2. After these six generations, there followed nineteen generations. It has been thought that some of the people of those generations were the ones who voyaged and settled in the Hawaiian Islands, because by the twentieth generation, there was a person whose name was Kapawa. He was the one, it is said, who was born at Kūkaniloko, in Waialua on the island of Oʻahu.

3. And from Kapawa until today, people have been known to have been born in the Hawaiian Islands. It, however, has not been told if they came from ‘Ololoimehano. It has not been told who the first was to arrived and settle in the Hawaiian Islands. It has not been told if they came on canoes, and it has not been told what time their voyage to the Hawaiian Islands took place.

4. It is thought that this race of people had come from the islands close to Kahiki and also from Kahiki, because the people of old in the Hawaiian
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Islands first remembered the name of Kahiki. Kahiki is recalled in the songs, prayers and the stories of the people of old of the Hawaiian Islands.

5. These are several of the names recalled in the songs: Kahikihonuakele, Ananaimalu, Hōlani, Hawai‘i, and Nu‘uhiwa, and the islands in the stories: 'Upolu, Wawa‘u, Kūkapuaikū, Kuaihelani, Melemele, Polapola, Ha‘eha‘e, Mo‘oku‘ululu and Hanakalanai [Hanakalau‘ai, Emerson 1971, 6].

6. Perhaps these names are to be found on the island of Kahiki. Where are they? Perhaps they [these names] are on the islands where they first lived and thereafter [these names came with them] when they came to the Hawaiian Islands.

7. Perhaps due to their fondness for Kahiki and Hawai‘i, they named a place on the island of Maui, “Kahikinui,” and called these islands, “Hawai‘i” [after their homeland]. If not, perhaps, Hawai‘i was the person who first settled [here], as did Maui, O‘ahu and Kaua‘i, and when they died these islands were named after them.

8. Here is another thing that has been heard about Kahiki: it was said that several people had come from Kahiki [to Hawai‘i.] They were Pā‘ao and Makuakaumana and others who travelled with them. They used the observation of the stars as their compass to navigate. Pā‘ao settled in Kohala and Makuakaumana returned to Kahiki.

9. Pā‘ao arrived in the Hawaiian Islands during the reign of Lonokawai, the chief of Hawai‘i. This was the sixteenth chiefly generation after Kapawa.

10. Pā‘ao settled in Kohala until the time Hawai‘i’s chiefs begun to live wrongly (i hewa ai). Then, Pā‘ao [went to and] got a chief in Kahiki [so to restore the blood lines]. Pili was the name of that chief in Kahiki and the name of that chief who sailed with Pā‘ao. He was established (ho‘onoho) in the chiefly lineage of the Hawaiian Islands.

11. It was thought that at Kapu‘a in [the district of] Kona [on the island of Hawai‘i] was where Pā‘ao had sailed to [from Kahiki]. However, it was not told as to what type of canoe that Pili sailed in to the Hawaiian Islands. Makuakaumana returned with Pā‘ao and several others. Kanaloa‘nui ‘i a of Pili’s canoe, although it was not told if the canoe was a pahi.

1 The name of Pili’s canoe is also found in other migration stories from “far away” islands. The themes of these migration stories share a similarity of sibling rivalry, the expulsion of one of the siblings and of their voyage to Hawai‘i. The version recorded by S. M. Kamakau bears a similarity to Malo’s “historical” voyage of Pā‘ao and Pili as well as revealing some points of inversion.

Malo’s familiarity with Tahitian probably occurred while he was associated with the court of the High Chief Kuakini where a Tahitian resided in post contact times and was later joined by a missionary relative.
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12. Furthermore, it is said that during Pili's voyage they were accompanied by two fish, the 'Opelu and the Aku. When the wind blew on the ocean, the Aku struck the side of the canoe and the 'Opelu rippled the surface of the ocean until the wind died down and the ocean was calmed. That is how Pili and the others sailed to and landed in the Hawaiian Islands. Therefore, prohibitions were made on the Aku and the 'Opelu in the old days. Upon Pili's landing, he ruled over the island of Hawai'i where he became one of the ancestors of the island of Hawai'i's chiefs.

13. Furthermore, it is said that another person had sailed again from Kahiki. His name was Mo'ikeha. During his voyage, Kalapana was the chief of the island of Hawai'i at that time.

14. Upon Mo'ikeha's arrival, he settled on the island of Kaua'i. He slept with a Kaua'i woman. Her name was Hinauulua. They gave birth to a boy. His name was Kila.

15. When Kila had grown up, he sailed to Kahiki. It was thought that his voyage was commenced from the western cape of the island of Kaho'olawe, because that cape is called Kealaikahiki [The path to Kahiki].

16. Upon Kila's arrival in Kahiki and during his return [to the Hawaiian Islands] he was accompanied by La'amaikahiki. This was the time that the kā'ēke'eke [a musical instrument, said to be a drum], canoe rigging cords (aha hoa wa'a) and ornamental canoe rigging (lanalana wa'a) were used widespread in the islands. He landed in the Hawaiian Islands and they became several of the ancestors of Hawai'i's chiefs and commoners, too. These were the things heard about Kahiki in the past.

17. It was thought that there is one race of people from the Hawaiian Islands, Kahiki [Tahiti] and the islands close to Kahiki [Tahiti].

18. Because the physical features are similar, the languages are similar as are the ancestral genealogies, the stories and the images of gods, too. It was thought that they migrated a little at a time to the Hawaiian Islands.

in 1822 who accompanied the Rev. Ellis. See paragraphs 17-22 for more of Malo's discussion about Tahiti and Hawai'i
2 Knackel scad (Decapterus punctatus and D. maruadsi)
3 Bonito or Skipjack (Katsuwonus pelamis). These two fish were integrated into religious ceremonies as found in Chapter 36 concerning the Makahiki. Both fish were considered to be 'aumākua, an ancestral form. Valeri notes that they were "considered the 'aumākua of the descendants of Pe'āno." (Valeri 1985, 28)
4 Malo uses the term "Hawai'i nei," which could refer to the Hawaiian Islands or to the island of Hawai'i.
5 Kaeppler discusses the terms kā'ēke'eke and kā'ēke'eke in detail. She notes that, "Malo and others sometimes use the term kā'ēke'eke as a general synonym for pa'alo that were not used in heiau. But in a description of the uses of sharkskin. Malo enumerates 'making drums for the worship of idols, also for the hula and the kā'ēke'eke drum.' Thus, in addition to separating pa'alo heiau, he may be terminologically distinguishing uses of the drums that is for hula and for ensemble drumming, calling the latter kā'ēke'eke." (Kaeppler 1980, 7)
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19. Because, there is a large canoe there [in Tahiti] called a pahi. This, perhaps, was the canoe they sailed upon to the Hawaiian Islands. It was said that the people of old were skilled in the observation of stars which they used as a compass to navigate by.

20. However, it was not told if the pahi was the name of the first canoes. They were not "moku".6 The people of old said that they were canoes.

21. However, it was further stated that this race of people came from the horizon, from the back of a moku.7

22. The reasoning for this statement is that they had come from a foreign land. It was in the horizon and the front of this land [that they had arrived on] was the back of the moku.8

23. This may have been a race of people who had been expelled and were blown out to sea. Since it was said that they came from the horizon, then maybe they lived in Asia. If not, then perhaps the lands they had wandered from are on the horizon. Perhaps due to their arrival here they named the islands from its similarity to their arrival from the back of the island.

24. Perhaps this race is from the Israelites because several customs of the Israelis are practiced by this race of people in the Hawaiian Islands.

25. Circumcision [actually sub incision], "cities of refuge," the prohibitions on burials, the prohibitions on menstruation, and the prohibitions on pregnant mothers who remain with the discharge following childbirth on the seventh day were the customs practiced in the Hawaiian Islands by this race of people.

26. Perhaps these were the people told of in God's words "the lost sheep of the House of Israel," because we now know how similar the Asians are to the Hawaiians, therefore, [the people of] these islands, Tahiti and the islands close to it are truly from Asia.9

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6 "Ship, schooner, vessel, boat, said to be so called because the first European ships suggested islands." (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 252)

7 This phrase "ma[i] ke kua" is repeated in Chapter 18, par. 62 which is followed by "ma koolau" (in the windward side) meaning that the back of the island is the windward side.

8 The term "moku" could mean an island or ship. Paragraph 20 could be translated as "ship" which would be consistent with Malo's use the Tahitian and Hawaiian terms for canoes. Paragraphs 21 and 22 could also be translated that the people came from the "windward side" (kua) of an island (moku) having departed from that side which then would have been the front (alo). See also Chapter 18, paragraph 62.

9 This would indicate that Malo had seen some of the recent immigrants from China, who were foreigners, but certainly not "haole" (Euro-American)
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CHAPTER 5

CONCERNING THE NAMING
OF THE CARDINAL POINTS

1. The people of old called the cardinal points according to the manner of the sun’s direction. Where the sun appeared [hiki, to appear] it was called Kūkulu hikina (east) and where the sun set [komo, lit., enter or sinks], it was called Kūkulu komohana (west).¹

2. If a person turned his or her ² face towards where the sun set, it would soon be realized that his hema (left hand) side was towards Kūkulu hema (south) and his ‘akau (right hand) side was towards Kūkulu ‘akau (north). These terms were only used in reference to the heavens and not to the sides of the islands.

3. However, the naming of the points was different for the sides of the islands as follows: If a person lived on the komohana side of the mokupuni [(island), the Kūkulu hikina was called “o uka.” The term for komohana was “o kai” and was derived from climbing upland and rushing down to the sea. Some of these terms were derived from the height of the uplands and the low level of the sea.

4. Kūkulu ‘akau was re-named “o luna” and Kūkulu hema was called “o lalo” because of the blowing of the wind. ‘akau was called “o luna,” and the moving of the wind hema was called “o lalo.” so these names were derived from [this concept].³

5. The space close to the heavens was called pa’a i luna. The space close to the earth was called pa’a i lalo [and] the space between the heavens and the earth was called lewa. Ho’oku‘i and hālāwai (horizon) are other names.

6. When a person lives on a [different] side of the islands, the naming of the cardinal points changes in relation to what ever side that person is on.

¹ Emerson disagrees with Malo as to what are the proper cardinal points. He believes that the points should be in reference to uka [upland] and kai [seaward] as a general application and reference to positions on land and sea. He states, “I think Malo is mistaken in this statement. . . . Nowhere in the world more than in the Pacific could the distinction between terra firma and the continent of waters that surround it be of greater importance . . . ” Emerson’s argument uses geography as the focal point while Malo’s focal point is a person. Even when a person is traveling in a wa’a (Chapter 7, paragraph 3) from island to island, the terminology used is in reference to the wa’a or the person. (Emerson 1971, 11, note 2)

² Malo uses the phrase “kanaka . . . kona” which is literally “a person . . . his or her” as Hawaiian pronouns do not denote gender. It becomes quite evident in later chapters that Malo uses the term “kanaka” to mean “male, man, or men” and the possessive third person pronoun “kona” is “his.”

³ An example of this terminology is found on the komohana side of the island of Maui where there are the villages of Lāhainaluna and Lāhainālau [lalo]

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7. [For example,] if a person lives on the hikina side of an island, he or she called the komohana side, "uka i ka hikina o kai" (upland of the hikina of the sea), and he or she faced hikina.4

8. Therefore, he or she called Kukulu hema, 'akau, because his or her right hand was in that direction. 'akau was called hema, because his or her left hand was in that direction.

9. That is the same for when a person lives on the hema side of the island. He or she faced hema, he or she would call hikina, hema, and komohana, 'akau.

10. And that is the same for when a person lives on the 'akau side of the island. The giving of names of the cardinal points changes according to where ever a person is living on the [different] sides of the island.

11. Furthermore, Kukulu hema was also re-named again according to the appearance of the sun. It was called "ka lâ hiki," and where the sun sinks, it was called "ka lâ kau." It was said as follows, "from ka lâ hiki until ka lâ kau, from that stratum to this one."

12. These terms were given only in reference to the sides of the islands and were not to be used for the cardinal points of the heavens, because it was said as follows, "Hawai‘i, ka lâ hiki and Kaua‘i, ka lâ kau." The 'akau of the islands was [referred to as] kēlā pa‘a and the hema of the islands was [referred to as] kēia pa‘a. It was said, "from kēlā pa‘a to kēia pa‘a."

13. Furthermore, there was a name given to the cardinal point of the "sides" and edge of the ocean, which is close to the horizon of the heavens, and circles around the earth; this “belt” is called Kukulu o ka honua.

14. Furthermore, [of] the naming of the cardinal point where the sky’s edge is just above meeting the ocean’s edge, and encircles the entire ocean; this “belt” is called Kukulu o ka lani.

15. Furthermore, [of] the naming of the cardinal points from the earth onwards and from the ocean onwards, which is still visible [to the naked eye] and close to the sky’s edge; it is called Kahikimoe (the horizon, or lit., prostrate Kahiki).

* Emerson states, "I do not believe their terminology of direction was quite so confused as would appear from Malo’s statements. The Hawaiian, in common with other Polynesians, was alive to the importance of marking the right-handed and left-handed directions of things relative to himself, and it is easy to believe that for temporary and supplemental purposes he might for the moment indicate a northerly direction by reference to his left side, but that was more than a temporary, or incidental use I do not credit." Again, the difficulty Emerson has with this chapter is due to the focal point he would like to use. Malo’s focal point is not a fix geographic position, but a flexible one because the world is centered from the view point of a person. This can also be understood in linguistic use from the directionals “mai” [in reference of speech towards the speaker] and “aku” [in reference of speech away from the speaker], which also indicate that focal point is the person [in this case the speaker]. (Emerson 1971, 11, note 7)
16. And the sky's edge that meets the ocean's rising upwards is called Kahikikū (lit., upright Kahiki), and just above it is Kahikikepapanu'u (lit., Kahiki the elevated stratum), just on top is Kahikikepapalani (lit., Kahiki the sky or god stratum), and directly on top is Kahikikapuiholanikekuina (lit., sacred Kahiki at Hōlani the meeting place).

17. And the place just below ka lani (the heavens) is ka lewa lani, and just below there where the birds fly is ka lewa nu'u, and just below is ka luna lewa, and just below it is ka luna lani lewa, and just below it, if a person is stuck in a tree and his or her feet are left to dangle; it is ka lewa ho'omakua and that is how the people of old called the cardinal points in their way of thinking.

CHAPTER 6
THE NAMING OF THE UPPER AND LOWER SPACES

1. The people of old called the space from below to up above, o luna, which is the space where a person stands until the reaching the top of his or her height. The space just above his or her head is called o luna a'e, and just above there is o luna aku, and just above there is o luna loa aku, and just above there is o luna lilo aku, and just above there is o luna lilo loa, and just above there at the space close to the clouds is o luna ke ao, and just above there, there are three names: keaoulu, kalaniuli and kalanipa'a.

2. Kalanipa'a is the space which is dark and gloomy when looked at. The people of old thought that inside of this lani pa'a is the sun's path that it takes to travel seaward to set and goes down below to rise again in hikina. This would be the same for the moon's path as well as the stars' for they journey like the sun. But, the earth is a fixed thing and it does not move one bit, which is what the people of old thought.

3. The ao (clouds) are large objects in the heavens. Their names are given in accordance to their nature. If a cloud is 'ele'ele (black), the name is ao 'ele'ele, some are ao uliuli (dark), some are ao hiwahiwa (sacred black), and if the 'ele'ele is hinuhinu (shiny), the name is ao hiwahiwa. Another name is ao polohiwa and ao panopano.

4. If the cloud is ke'oke'o (pale white), it is ao ke'oke'o. Ao kea is another name for it. If it is kind of ma'oma'o (greenish), it is ao ma'oma'o. If it is kind of lenalena (yellowish-orange), it is ao lena. If it is 'ula'ula (reddish), it is ao 'ula, kiawe 'ula (faint streak of red) and ʻonohi 'ula (a cloud with red hues of rainbow). If the cloud is close [to the ground], it is ao ho'olewalewa
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(floating), ao ho'opehupehu (billowy), ao ho'omakomako (large, billowy), ao ho'omalumalu (darker), ao ho'okokoli'i (thick, black cloud), and ao ho'oweliweli (threatening). They were called according to their own features.

5. If the cloud is in a circular line or bank close to the horizon of the heavens, this cloud is a 'opua. There are many characteristics of the 'opua, but depending upon what its shade was like one could determine what the weather was to be like. If the tip of the 'opua falls, then it is perhaps a makani (wind) or 'ino (storm). If the 'opua was all right, it would be mālie (calm). If the 'opua is low then it is melemele (yellowish), and when it is close to the horizon of the heavens, it is newenewe (billowy) and the result is la'i loa (extreme calm).

6. Furthermore, of the signs in the heavens, if the cardinal points of the heavens in the komohana are dark during the evening, it is pāuli, a sign of choppy seas. If there are gaps in the clouds like the mouth of the A'u; it is 'ena, a sign of rain.

7. If the cloud is reddish ('ula'ula) and thick (hānu'unu'u) in the hikina, in which there hasn't been any rain, it is kaha'ea (cumulus cloud). It is a sign of rain. If the cloud is round and set just above the mountain ridge during the morning, it is pāpaloa (misty cloud). It, too, is a sign of rain. If the cloud is dark (uliuli) on the mountain ridge, it is palamoa (thick, dense). This is a sign of destructive rain. There are other signs of rain.

8. If the heavens are overcast and the wind is not gentle, it is po'ipū (overcast), ho'ohāhā (overcast), ho'oluluhi (black, heavy) [which] are other names. If the wind is gentle, it is ho'okaka'a [turning over]. If the heavens are covered over with intense darkness, it is hākuma (dark, thick). If there are many ao 'ele'ele in the overcast, it was thought that inside of this Kulanihako'i 2 was thunder, lightning, wind, rain, and terrible storms.

9. And when it rains, if there is rain and wind, perhaps thunder with lightning and rainbows, it will not rain for long. If there is rain without any wind, the rain will last a long time. If the Kūkulu komohana is reddish ('ula'ula) during the evening, it is aka 'ula (red sunset). The rain is a sign of calm.

10. Moreover, when the stars disappeared, it is ao (daylight), and when the sun appears it is lā. When the sun is warm then the morning is over, and when the sun is directly overhead, it is awakea. And when it totters to the komohana, it is 'aui ka lā (the sun has set). And from the setting [of the sun] at evening, the sun sinks down into the horizon [nāpo'o ka lā]. It is pō nō (nightfall) and the stars appear.

1 "Swordfish, sailfish, marlin, spearfish (istiophoridae)" (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 30
2 A "mythical pond or lake in the sky; its overflow comes to the earth as rain. Lit., like heaven agitated." (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 179

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11. And when it is time to sleep, it is aumoe, and the whiteness said above turns: "the fish has turned" [the Milky way], the uplands have the early light of dawn, the dawning of the day has broken, and the uplands are white (ke'oke'o), and the light of dawn has opened up and it appears yellowish (pualena) and entirely brightens the day with light.

12. The rain is another great phenomenon above. It is a very chilly thing. The people of old thought that the smoke just below [the sky] turned into clouds and then it rained. These rains were from far away. These are the rains: Kona, which is a very big rain; Ho'olua, which is a very big rain; and Nāulu which is a small rain, but it is also very strong.

13. An 'Awa (cold rain) in the mountains is a kualau rain, and this same rain in the ocean is ao kū. Waipu'ilani (waterspout) is another rain. There are so many names of the rain that the people had called them according to their appropriate nature where ever they lived on the [different] sides of the island. There are many names used for every type of rain according to the name they desired, such as a long rain, a short rain and a misty white rain.

14. The people of old called the wind, makani. It is cold.

15. These are the names of the winds: Kona is the wind that blows in Kūkulu hema. It is a very strong wind and it is a broad spreading wind from the hikina of the island until the komohana, and from the hema of the island until the ʻākau. Several days would pass while it blows. It is a gentle wind on the Koʻolau side. It is a very strong wind at the front of the islands.

16. Some of the Kona [winds] blow rain and some do not. There are many names of the Kona winds; Kona kū has a very big rain; Kona moe is cold; Kona lani has a little shower; Kona hea is cold, and Kona hilimai'a is found completely in the uplands.

17. Ho'olua is the wind from the ʻākau and goes to the hema of the islands. Some Ho'olua has rain and some do not.

18. Hau is a wind from the uplands. It was thought that the wind came from inside of the mountains, because that wind blew from the mountains around the island, blowing from the uplands.

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1 This type of reasoning could well explain the function of a religious site on the island of Moloka'i where fire pits were burnt in the anticipation of inducing rain. It was once reasoned that the immense heat produced would cause condensation, the formation of clouds and then precipitation would occur, however Malo's explanation is of a different nature.


5 Kona Mae (Emerson 1971, 14)

6 "Lit., Kona wind snaring bananas." (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 165)
Hawaiian Traditions

19. Another wind comes from the sea. It was thought that wind blows from the uplands and returns again to the uplands only at the front of the island where it blows. It is called in some places 'Eka, and in some places 'A'a, and in some places, Ka'aulu, and in some places Inuwai. There are many names of the winds that the people of old gave them which were appropriate for the wind of that area.

20. Furthermore, below where a person stood [on the ground] it was called 0 lalo and just below there is the lepo (dirt), and just below it is o lalo liloa and just below it is o lalo kapapakū.

21. The area inside of the sea is o loko o ke kai, where the fish live. The black area of the ocean is hohonu (depths), where the large fish live as is the lewa manu (bird sky) in the mountains where the birds live.

CHAPTER 7

THE NAMING OF WHAT IS FOUND ON THE ISLANDS

1. The people of old gave the names for the island features according to what they saw and what they thought was appropriate to call them. There are two names used for calling the islands: moku and 'āina. The term moku is used when you are at sea and the term 'āina is used when a person is upon land.

2. If there are many islands like the Hawaiian Islands, they are called pae moku and pae 'āina. If there is only one island then either moku or 'āina can be used.

3. When a person travels by canoe from an island out to sea and sees another island, it is called moku kele i ka wa'a, and while further sailing out to sea another island is seen, it is still called moku kele i ka wa'a and this is the same term used when returning back. This [term is used] because it is given as the canoe moves seaward and returns passing from island to island.

4. A mokupuni (island) is a very large island like the islands of Hawai'i, Maui and all the other islands.

5. The mokupuni is divided into several 'āpana (divisions or sections), and those divisions are further divided up into moku o loko such as Kona on the island of Hawai'i and Hāna on the island of Maui, and other such districts on the islands.
Hawaiian Traditions

6. These districts were divided up again and called 'okana, and kalana is another term. A poko is inside of an 'okana.

7. These new divisions were divided up again and directly below in size is an 'ahupua'a, and below the 'ahupua'a is an 'ili'aina.

8. When this is divided up, it is then a mo'o'aina, and below the mo'o'aina are the paukū'aina, and below the paukū'aina are the kihāpai. Then it is divided up into the kō'ele, hakuone [like a kō'ele] and kuakua.

9. This is another land division of the island: the highest point in the center of island is called kuahiwi, and the pu'u are directly on top of the kuahiwi, and when they stand up in a row, or when they are alone it is called kualono, which is the same name of the sharp peaks on top of the kuahiwi. Those peaks that are round are called lua pele (volcanoes).

10. The area directly below the kuahiwi, close to the slope of the kuahiwi is the kua mauna. Another name is mauna.

11. The place where the trees are sparse, below the kua mauna is called kua hea. Where it encircles the kua mauna and where the trees grow politically seaward of the kua hea is called wao. Waonahele is another term for it, and wao eiwa is the term for when it encircles the kua mauna.

12. The place where the tall trees grow seaward from the wao eiwa is called wao maukele where it encircles the kua mauna. Seaward from the wao maukele, where the vegetation is small with new growth is called wao akua. Seaward of the wao akua grows the 'Ama'uma'u fern and it is called wao kanaka. There are several terms for the area where people farm.

13. Seaward of the Ma'u ferns is the 'apa'a and seaward of the 'apa'a is the 'Ilima, and seaward of the 'Ilima is the pahe'e, and seaward of the pahe'e is the kula. This is the area close to the villages and the area seaward of the kula is the kahakai (beach), which is the closest to the sea.

14. This is how the hilly features of the islands are called: where they stand tall above everything else they are called pu'u (hills). If they stand in a row they are called lālani pu'u. Pae pu'u is another term used. If there are several pu'u in one area, then it is called kinikini pu'u and olowalu pu'u is another term used.

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1 "Small land unit farmed by a tenant for the chief." (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 158)
2 "embankment between taro patches" (Emerson 1971, 18, note 3)
3 "These regions (wao akua) are called 'divine' because in the abundance of their vegetation and other life forms they manifest the productivity of the divine mana and also because they are opposed to the cultivated wao kanaka, 'hinterland of man' as gods are opposed to man." (Valeri 1985, 273)
15. If a place is very low in elevation it is called 'āhua and 'ōhuku is another term used. If it is still lower in size it is called 'ōhū and kahua is another term used.

16. The higher elevated areas that are flat on top are called lapa. Kualapa is another term used and when there are many such lapa it is called 'olapalapa.

17. The depression in the earth that goes far down are called kahawai or 'awa'awa. Another term is ʻōwawa (valleys).

18. Those areas that are steep on one side are called pali (cliffs), and if they are lower, they are called ʻōpalipali.

19. The areas that are flat and long are called alanui (lit., large path). Kuamo'o is another name used. If it lies along the perimeter of the island, it is called alaloa. Areas that are higher up on the ala are called pi'ina (incline), and ho'opi'ina is another name used, as are ko'okū (hillside path) and aukū (uphill path).

20. Where the ala goes down, it is called ihona. 'Alu is another name used as are kaolo, kālua and ho'oihona. Where people rested along the ala is called 'oi'oina.

21. Where water flows is called a kahawai (stream). Upland it is called kumuwai (head waters) and seaward it is called nukuwai (stream mouth). Where the water flows into farm lands is called 'auwai (ditch) and where water meets the sea, it is called a muliwali (mouth). The water that forms inland in a circular pattern and just floats there is called a loko (pond).

CHAPTER 8

CONCERNING STONES AND ROCKS.

1. The people of old called solid rocks pōhaku. Very large pōhaku are called pali pōhaku and small ones are called pōhaku 'u'uku. If they are still smaller they are called 'aʻa (lava cinders). The smallest material called ʻiliʻili (pebbles) or one (sand). The very finest substance is called lepo (dirt).

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1 "Belt around an island." (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 18)
2 Perhaps kāhuakua (bumpy). (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 123)
Hawaiian Traditions

1. There are many names for the pōhaku in the mountains. These are solid rocks that were perhaps not “eaten” by the volcano. These pōhaku are made into carving adzes (ko‘i). Uliuli is one type of pōhaku as is Ehuehu. There are many types of these pōhaku.

2. These are the names of the pōhaku used for adzes: Kei, Kepue, ‘Alāmea, Kaiali‘i, Humu‘ula, Piwai, ‘Awali‘i, Laukea and Mauna. They are dense pōhaku. The other types of pōhaku are not as dense as these are. These pōhaku do not have any perforations such as the ‘Alā.

3. These are the pōhaku used for fishing lures. They are quite different for the adze pōhaku and each one is unlike the other. These are their names: Hiena, Maheu, Hau, Papa, Laekoloha, Leiole, Hāpou, Kāwa‘upu‘u, Mā‘ili, Au, Naninui, Mahiki, Pāpōhaku, Kaua‘ula, Waianu‘ukole, Honokeana, Kupaoa, Polipoli, Ho‘ōne, Noku, Lū‘au, Waimano, Hule‘ia and Makawela.

4. These are the pōhaku used for maika games: Maka, Hiupa, Ikimakua, Kumuone, Mahiki, Kumuma‘oma‘o, Kalama‘ula, Pu‘upā and Pa‘akea.

5. Other types of pōhaku are: Pāhoehoe of Pele is a very slippery volcanic rock. ‘Eleku and ‘Ana are light and perforated. ‘Alā ² is another type of stone as is Paea.³

6. These are the pōhaku used to sand down a canoe and gourds: Puna, ‘Ōahi, ‘Ōla‘i, Pōhuehue, Kāwa‘ewa‘e, ‘Oi‘o and ‘Ana.

7. These are the names of the pōhaku used for pōhaku ku‘i poi (poi pounders): ‘Alā, Lū‘au, Kohenalo, Kumuone (sandstone), a whitish pōhaku, Ko‘a (coral) which is found in the ocean, and a certain pōhaku from the heavens that fell from Kahekili [meteorite?]. There are perhaps many more pōhaku that have not yet been accounted for.

1 Māhikihiki is a stone used for adzes. (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 219)
2 “It seems unaccountable that Mr. Malo should omit this important of all the stones from his rambling and very unsatisfactory list,” wrote Emerson. He continued, “If any stone might be considered to have escaped the melting action of Pele’s fires by reason of its hardness it would certainly be this one.” Emerson bases this argument upon the quality of ‘Alā to withstand intense heat, but the stones described by Malo, who admits that this list is incomplete, is based upon the qualities that makes a stone useful for material culture. Malo does list the ‘Alā as being used to make poi pounders, but its use may be limited for other purposes because it has too many holes (see paragraph 3). (Emerson 1971 20, note 3)
3 Flint (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 298)

English Translation 17
CHAPTER 17

CONCERNING THE KO'I PŌHAKU
(STONE ADZES) AND NEW ADZES

1. The ko'i pōhaku was the ancient adze of the Hawaiian Islands used by the people of old. Those who made adzes (kā ko'i) were held in esteem in the old days in the Hawaiian Islands, because with them rested the making of good adzes to cut trees, to carve all sorts of wood, and to make beneficial things from wood. This is how the kā ko'i made adzes:

2. The kā ko'i went to the mountains, and also to other places, to look for the right, dense rocks to make an adze. During their journey they would take several other dense stones, such as Lapalapa and Poepoe. These stones were named by the kā ko'i as “haku,” that is they were used to chip out the ko'i.

3. And when the rock was struck long chips of stone would be broken off, then some plant juice was inserted so to “soften” the rock. When the rock was “softened,” then the ko'i was shaped on the bottom and then on the top.

4. The lower part that is rounded off is called pipi. The upper part that “hinges” ('ami) is called hauhana, and when the shaping (ho'olala) is completed, then a whetstone is gotten and sand is sprinkled on top of the whetstone charged with water. The bottom and the top of the ko'i is then completely ground and the tip is sharpened. The ko'i is joined on to the handle using perhaps Hau wood or other type of wood.

5. The lashing is braided and the ko'i is placed on to the handle. A lining is placed [between the ko'i and the handle] and the lashing is tightened and made secure. This completes the making of ko'i which was trade for many things and so obtained by kālai wa'a (canoe carvers).

6. Iwi ole is one type of ko'i. Alahe'e is another as is Hao, which is smaller. These are the ko'i of the Hawaiian Islands that were used to carve canoes, house timbers, and all sorts of other things. A ko'i was greatly prized by the people of old as immense wealth. The people of old cherished it.

7. There have been [many types of] introduced ko'i from the European or American countries. Iron was first gathered in the Hawaiian Islands from beached pieces of drift wood. That wood was called hao pal'. The chiefs offered it to the god images (nā akua ki'i).

8. There was very little iron in the old days. There is a lot of it today from the time of Kamehameha I to the present reign of Kamehameha III.
Hawaiian Traditions

9. There is a lot of iron today. There are many types of ko'i: Lipi kuke (*Adze with thin tapering blade*), Lipi kāhela (*Adze with concave blade*), Lipi hoehoe (*Adze with broad, flat blade*), Lipi ʻoma (*Adze with concave blade*), Holu (*Adze used to smooth out a canoe*) and Kailakahi ko'i (*Adze with steel knife blade*). These are the introduced ko'i. The ko'i pōhaku have been abandoned these days.

CHAPTER 18

CONCERNING THE ALI'I (CHIEFS) AND THE PEOPLE

1. The nature and appearance of the ali'i (chiefs) and the people are the same. There is only one race of people and all the physical features of the ali'i and the people are the same. They share the same ancestors from Wākea and Papa. The ali'i and the people were not separated apart during those generations, but perhaps the separation of the ali'i and the people occurred after the time of Wākea and Papa.

2. Maybe [this was done] because all the people could not keep the chiefdom united through the sharing of governance of everyone's problems, hardships and difficulties everywhere; which may have been the reason for someone to have become the ali'i and who could singularly take care of the chiefdom. This, perhaps, was the reason for the distinction of several persons as ali'i, although what the ali'i initially did [that was described above] was not told of [in the traditions]. This is only a theory.

3. The ali'i was established as one whom people could appeal their hardships to; who gave comfort to the just, and who oppressed those who concealed things. The ali'i was the one person above all the people. All the tasks were his as long as his deeds and actions were just.

4. These were his tasks in [ruling] the chiefdom: to inspire the people during the time of war, what he said was the word of the chiefdom, the judgment of death and life of the people, ali'i and opponents was his, he took care of the koa (*warriors*), the offerings of treasures of the makahiki (*annual tribute*) were his, and so was the removal of his people and ali'i from districts (*'aina*).

5. He could exact tribute from the maka'āinana (*commoners*) and ali'i and he could exact punishment upon districts whose tribute was insufficient. Only he could collect, up root and plunder. He could cut off the ear of the sacrificial offering of a pig (haipua'a) [Emerson translates this as ha'i pua'a (*another's pig*). (Emerson, 1971, 53)] He conducted the ceremonies at the heiau po'okanaka (*temple associated with human sacrifice*), that is the English Translation 42
Hawaiian Traditions

of the runners [who was ahead of the others], he was a winner and [his] side cheered on for the victory.

7. Some people would cheat and have another runner win while having someone else bet their wagers on the winner. This was how it was done in kūkini.

CHAPTER 45

CONCERNING MAIKA (LAWN BOWLING)

1. Maika was a gambling sport and this is how it was done; when some people decided to gamble they looked for the strongest person who played maika.

2. They would place their bets on a person who was recognized for being a strong maika player while others bet on who they thought was better. That is how the betting was done.

3. Those who knew how a player should look like, as was done in kūkini (foot racing), and the betting became pili hihia.1 The maika is a stone that was shaped into a round disk until it was smooth like a kind of adze or chisel (lipilipi). The name of this stone was "ulu. This is how it was used to play maika.

4. There were many types of stones shaped into 'ulumaika(s) and there were many names for the 'ulumaika(s) which were given according to the type of stone used.

5. When maika was played, the maika was rolled on a field (kahua) that had been previously made for the sport. When the betting was completed then the maika [players] arrived [at the field].

6. The player to first roll (pehi) his ulu made an attempt known as a "kumu." The player who threw last still called his throw a "kumu."

7. The [next] player then tried to roll his maika beyond the "kumu" of the previous player. If it overtook the "kumu" of the other player, he counted it [as a score]. The other player tried to do the same, and some times it resulted in a pa‘i maika (a draw).

1 "... to become involved in gambling ... in the old days, to bet one’s life or wife." (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 329)
CHAPTER 46

CONCERNING PAHE'E (CLUB OR SPEAR SLIDING)

1. Pahe'e was a gambling sport. There were many people who participated in this sport. Everyone played pahe'e according to their own way [rules] of playing it.

2. Ihe (spears), made from 'Ulu (Breadfruit) wood were pahe'e (slid). Kauila wood was another type of wood spears used. The ihe was tapered towards the tip and it was wider at the base (kumu). Wagers were first bet and then the betting was concluded.

3. The pahe'e players stood up and a player slid his [ihe] until the base stopped (moe) [on the ground]. Then another player slid his [ihe] and if the base of his overtook the first player's, then it was counted [as a score]. If it did not then it was not counted.

4. And that is how the playing of pahe'e was done. If a player got ten counts [points] then he won.

CHAPTER 47

CONCERNING HEIHEI WA'A (CANOE RACING)

1. Heihei wa'a was a gambling sport. When people wanted to play they picked out a group of the strongest hoe wa'a (canoe paddlers) so they could race [as a team].

2. Everyone bet according to whom they knew as being strong in hoe wa'a. Wagers were heaped up and then the heihei wa'a began.

3. If the wa'a (canoe) used was a kioloa (long, narrow canoe) then it would be a one man race. If the wa'a was a pulua then it was a two man race. If was a

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1 Emerson writes that "the meaning of the language in section 6, 7, and 8 is such that I can make no sense of it; and often diligent inquiry of those who are Hawaiian scholars and skillful in unraveling puzzles, I can find no one who can do anything with it. . . . The first thing in translating this is to utterly disregard the punctuation which is entirely wrong and misleading." Emerson 1971, note 3, 221)
Hawaiian Traditions

pukolu, then it was a three man race. The races were conducted according to the size of the wa’a.

4. They raced on the open ocean (moana loa), then they paddled while others bailed water [out of the wa’a]. They paddled the wa’a(s) until they landed ashore. If they landed at the same time then it was a draw. The first wa’a to beach was the winner and the people of that wa’a cheered. The others were disappointed because of what they had wagered [and lost].

CHAPTER 48

CONCERNING HE’E NALU (SURFING)

1. He’e nalu was another popular gambling sport when the crowd wanted to bet. Everyone wagered according to who was their favorite he’e nalu (surfer).

2. When the betting was completed then the he’e nalu swam seaward of the kūlana nalu. They swam out on top of their papa (boards). The papa was made of Koa wood and shaped in a flat surface. Another wood used was Wiliwili which was shaped into a papa ololoino.

3. The length of a papa was about one fathom. Some were two fathoms and some were four or more fathoms long.

4. When two he’e nalu went pass the kūlana where the surf crashed, they paddled with their hands until they landed ashore where there was a marker or float (kekahi mouo). The float was called a “pua.”

5. If they both entered inside of this “pua,” it was a draw. If one entered inside of the pua [before the other] then he won. The one who entered inside of the “pua” would swim out again. This time he would paddle towards a middle area that did not reach the kūlana where he would be declared the winner. That was how he’e nalu was done.

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1 A “Place where the waves swell up and the surf rider starts paddling and racing the wave, usually at the most distant line of breakers.” (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 179)

2 A “long board is hewn from the wiliwili wood.” (Fornander 1919, 206)

3 Emerson writes that “One is almost inclined to doubt the accuracy of David Malo’s statement that it was sometimes four, or even more, fathoms in length.” (Emerson 1971, note 4, 223-224)

4 Emerson concludes that “I am unable to give a satisfactory translation of this section. It has been suggested to me that the meaning is that the victory was declared only after more than one heat, a rubber, if necessary.” Emerson edits Malo’s text by rendering it as “… i ka pu-a i ho-o mawaena mai oia aole e hiki i ke kūlana o ka eo ia nana…” (Emerson 1971, note 5, 224)

English Translation 170
CONCERNING HE'E HÔLUA (SLEDDING)

1. He'e hōlua was another popular sport played by the ali'i (chiefs) and the people. It was a gambling sport for the desire of the crowd.

2. The hōlua [course] was man made with a solid foundation (kahua). The course was long so the hōlua sled could slide on it. A pali (cliff) was one end of the course and the ground level was the other end.

3. The course was paved with stones and dirt and where the hōlua sled would slide down; it was pounded until the dirt was firm. Grass was used to cover the area until it was perfect. This completed the work needed on the course.

4. The hōlua sled was first made of Māmane or Uhiuhi wood. The wood was carved and straight adzed on the bottom. [These slants] pointed out at the tips (nuku) so they jutted out just above the ground. The pao (arch or bridge) was set on top of the papa (sled) like the kaulua (span) of the wa'a (double hulled canoe).

5. Cordage ('aha) was placed directly on top of the pao as would be done for the pola wa'a ¹ and the cordage was tighten. Kukui [nut oil] was rubbed [on the slants of the sled] and when these preparations were done, then the betting was made and completed.

6. Then the contestant mounted the papa. A contestant first gave shove and then lay prone on the "kumu." The next contestant gave his "kumu" a shove and then lay prone on it. A contestant rode his papa so he could overtake the other contestant. If he did then he scored [a point] and if he did not then the other contestant scored.

7. That was how the racing was done and if a contestant overtook the other, he scored [a point]. If no one scored then the race was a draw, but if one did overtake the other then he was the winner.

¹ "Platform or high seat between the canoes of a double canoe." (Pukui & Elbert 1986, 338)